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MONDAY, JANUARY 14, 1929

WHOLE No. 596

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## BOTH SISTER AND WIFE

The strange connubial combination of sister and wife early confronts the classical student. The spirited passage in Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.46-47, not only has a certain theological importance, but also presents some interesting sociological problems. Juno there describes herself as *divum . . . regina, Iovisque et soror et coniunx*. Juno carefully selects the word to which she will give the prominence of priority. It was not meter, it was not chronology, it was genealogy that induced her to stress first *soror*, then *coniunx*. She emphasized blood relationship. Ovid, in a passage in which Juno is referring to herself (*Met.* 3.265-266), closes one verse with *regina Iovisque*, and begins the next with *et soror et coniunx*, and, to remove all doubt, makes Juno add *certe soror*. Furthermore, who should know better how to address his consort than Jupiter himself? He, too, is accustomed to choose his words with care. In *Aeneid* 10.607 he calls Juno *germana . . . atque coniunx*. In Seneca, Agamemnon 348-350, Juno is invoked by the Chorus as *soror et coniunx, consors sceptri, regina Iuno*<sup>1</sup>. Vergil, when he wrote *Aeneid* 1.46-47, was thinking of Homer, especially *Iliad* 16.432<sup>2</sup>, where Zeus is described as addressing Hera, 'his sister and his wife'; Vergil is following Homer in giving precedence to the fact that Juno is Jupiter's sister<sup>3</sup>.

Were the classical nations the only peoples to conceive of their gods as forming matrimonial alliances? Marriage prevailed among men. It prevailed also among the gods. So, in probably the oldest civilization of all, gods are conceived of as marrying<sup>4</sup>: not only

<sup>1</sup>It need cause no disturbance that a different word-order appears in Ovid, *Met.* 13.574, *Iovis coniunxque sororque*, and that Horace closes an Alcaic strophe (*Carmina* 3.3.64) with the words *coniuge me Iovis et sorore*. Ovid is imitating the Homeric clausula. In Horace metrical considerations determine the word-order.

Regard must be had to primitive ideas concerning marriage and to the wide prevalence of the practice whereby a sister (or half-sister) is also wife. See e.g. Robert Briffault, *The Mothers* 1.372, note 7, 203-205, 240, 257-258, 384, 405, 3.26 (three volumes. New York, Macmillan, 1927).

<sup>2</sup>I am myself wholly convinced that alike in Homer, Vergil, Ovid, and Seneca, in the passages cited by Professor Lease, metrical considerations determined, or helped to determine, the word-order. As, by Professor Lease's own admission, metrical considerations determined the word-order in Horace. If any one doubts this, let him try to rewrite the verses with a different word-order. He will see that *et soror et coniunx* fits easily into a hexameter verse, *et coniunx et soror* does not; he will have his troubles in trying to work *Ἰλίου κασιγνήτην τε* into *Iliad* 16.432; *Ἰλίου τε κασιγνήτην τε*, I grant, would be metrical. Further, it makes a good deal of difference whether a poet seeks to use *et . . . et*, as Vergil does in *Aeneid* 1.46-47, or *-que . . . -que*, as Ovid does in *Met.* 13.574. I am convinced that no arguments whatever can be drawn with respect to matters of custom, psychology, etc., from the word-order in verse. Indeed, I should say that it is not legitimate even to use argument from word-order in verse to support conclusions reached by other means. C. K. >

<sup>3</sup>In *Iliad* 4.58-60 Hera stresses first her lineage and the honors due to her as her birthright. Then she adds, 'and because I am named your spouse'. Jupiter and Juno have the same father and the same mother.

<sup>4</sup>Those who are interested in the rationalistic interpretation, according to which Jupiter is the *aether*, Juno the *aer*, may consult Servius's note on *Aeneid* 1.46.

<sup>5</sup>They sometimes had more than one wife, a fact which leads Mr. A. S. Cook to remark, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 1.203: "... Polygamy excluded an intimate family life, and therefore a family religion <among the Semites> as in Greece or Rome. . ."

the chief gods in the Babylonian pantheon, but each god of the great religious centers, Nippur, Erech, Ur, etc., is said to have a wife. Indeed, to the King of the Underworld, Nergat, a queen was assigned.

Did the gods of other nations marry their sisters? Yes: such marrying was not uncommon in very early times. It is a fact of outstanding importance that the practice prevailed in ancient Egypt among both immortals and mortals. Osiris married his sister Isis, Set his sister Nephthys, etc. The Pharaohs married their sisters or half-sisters<sup>5</sup>, and the Ptolemies followed the precedent set by the Pharaohs. Possibly the most widely known royal marriage is that of Cleopatra; in 52 B. C., at the age of seventeen, she inherited both a throne and a husband, her brother Ptolemy III. King Mausolus married his sister. In ancient Greece the Titan Oceanus married his sister Tethys, Hyperion his sister Theia, Kronos his sister Rhea, Zeus his sister Hera, Hephaestus his half-sister Aphrodite. The God of the Winds, Aeolus, gave his six daughters in marriage to his six sons (*Odyssey* 10.5-7). We learn from *Genesis* 20. 12 that Abraham married his half-sister (a proceeding condemned by *Ezekiel* 22. 11), and from *Genesis* 11. 29 that his brother Nahor married his own niece<sup>6</sup>. Of peculiar interest is the Iranian account, telling us not only that Mashya married his twin-sister Mashyana, but also that this couple became the progenitors of the human race. Yima, a very ancient hero of the Indo-Iranians, married his sister Yimak; King Cambyzes and other Persian kings followed the custom. In fact, in ancient Persia it was esteemed not merely proper but meritorious for a man to marry his sister. The *Rig-Veda* also tells of a marriage between a brother and his twin-sister, Yama and Yami, and speaks of them as the first human pair. In Japan the Earth-god Ohonamachi married his sister.

Other analogies are found which point to a close connection between the celestial and the terrestrial. As the god Pluto married his niece, so, later, King Atreus took as his third wife his niece. Herod, King of the Jews, married two of his nieces, and the Roman Emperor Claudius (in 49 A. D.) married his niece<sup>7</sup>, the notorious Agrippina. In the account of a great flood, as handed down by the Bhils (a wild jungle tribe of Central India), it is said that there were two survivors, a brother and a sister, who married and became the founders of the human race<sup>8</sup>.

Leaving the Old World for the New we find a change in place but not in custom. It is said that the founder

<sup>5</sup>This was the rule also in the royal families of Baghirmi, Siam, Burma, Ceylon, and Polynesia.

<sup>6</sup>Cimon, who died in 449 B. C., married his sister (or half-sister).

<sup>7</sup>But in the latter half of the fourth century, according to Gaius, it remained unlawful for a man to marry his sister's daughter.

<sup>8</sup>See Sir J. G. Frazer, *Polk-Lore in the Old Testament*, 1.194 (London, Macmillan, 1919).

of the royal line among the Peruvian Incas married his sister, a statement substantiated by the fact that later a stringent law was passed that the heir to the kingdom should marry his eldest sister. As will be seen in Westermarck's monumental work<sup>9</sup>, 2.83-84, sister-marriages have been in vogue in many lands and among many peoples, in places as widely separated as Greece and Ecuador, as Hawaii and Scandinavia!

We all know how such marriages are regarded in the modern civilized world. How were they regarded in the classical realm in the fourth century before the Christian era? In the marriage laws noted by Plato in his Republic (Book 5) it is said (461 D), "...But the law will allow brothers and sisters to live together if the lot should so fall and the Pythian agree..."<sup>10</sup> (so Professor Grube translates the passage, in *The Classical Quarterly* 21.96). However, though in ancient Greece marriage between brothers and sisters who were not born of the same mother<sup>11</sup> was quite generally allowed, it appears that except in the earliest period such alliances were universally condemned<sup>12</sup>. In general they were held in similar abhorrence in ancient Rome, a fact prompting Plutarch to propound this query, of a more general scope (*Quaestiones Romanae* 108), 'Why do the Romans not marry their near kinswomen?' He gives three reasons for the Roman attitude on this subject<sup>13</sup>. But of more pertinency to the present inquiry is his statement (*Quaestiones Romanae* 6) that 'Marriage between blood relations was not allowed... just as to this day they do not marry sisters'. Of significance, too, is the fact that another important authority, Tacitus, in referring to the marriage of Tigranes, King of Armenia, to his sister (*Annales* 2. 3. 5), characterizes it as done *more externo*, i.e. as taking place according to the Oriental custom.

In view of the fact that Plutarch advances three cogent reasons against Romans marrying their near kinswomen, the question naturally arises, What

considerations induced a brother to marry his sister? What influences were at work causing a god to marry his sister? Of wide import is the statement in *The Cambridge Ancient History* 1. 530, concerning ancient Babylonia, about 2250 B. C.: "...Deities were very human in their ways, for they were merely men and women gifted with tremendous powers, and their foibles and emotions were exactly the same..." In others words, as was the man, so was the god. Celestial marriages are merely reflections of terrestrial marriages.

On earth several considerations or motives may have made a marriage between a brother and a sister desirable or expedient. Prominent among these motives are the three centripetal forces, family pride, caste, and clan<sup>14</sup>. Among the Romans it was not until 445 B. C. (by the *Lex Canuleia*) that a patrician could marry a plebeian. In the case of royalty, as with the Pharaohs and the Peruvian monarchs, there was a strong feeling that the royal family stood in a class by itself. It was deemed degrading to defile the heavenly blood by mortal contact: royal blood must be kept pure, uncontaminated by mixture with common clay. The chances of defilement were reduced to a minimum by a marriage between a brother and a sister; they were absolutely removed if the two were twins, for there was then no question of parentage, no doubt of the close blood relationship<sup>15</sup>. It may be that another consideration is more potent. Large estates or extensive business interests might be involved; in that event the policy of keeping the possession, control, and transmission of the property within the narrow circle of the family made a strong appeal<sup>16</sup>. Greed of gain, *studium lucri*, decides the marriage.

All these forces were operative in the terrestrial sphere.

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EMORY B. LEASE

### SHENSTONE'S APPRECIATION OF VERGIL

Is William Shenstone the best critic of Vergil that the eighteenth century produced, or is he only the most enthusiastic? In studying an age in which Latin writers were the models of English writers in almost all respects and the classicism of the Greeks was "seen through a glass darkly", it is natural for us to look for strong and pleasing interpretation and criticism of Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Phaedrus, and Juvenal.

If imitation, not in the Aristotelian sense, but in the modern sense, be the sincerest flattery, Pope and his contemporaries were not remiss in their appreciation of Horace and Vergil. Although William Shenstone never wrote a complete essay on Vergil, or on any other writer of ancient times, or, for that matter, of his own times, he spoke clearly and positively,

<sup>9</sup>As in Mycenae, where royal persons "were regarded as the temporary human manifestations of divinities" (*The Cambridge Ancient History* 2.464).

<sup>10</sup>Morgan, *Ancient Society*, 401-402, states that the consanguine family, "the first and most ancient form of the institution... was founded upon the intermarriage of brothers and sisters in a group". Compare notes 1 and 11 above.

<sup>11</sup>Such considerations were influential among the ancient Hebrews also. See Numbers 26.12: "And they were married into the families... and their inheritance remained in the tribe of the family of their father".

<sup>9</sup>Edward Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (three volumes, The Allerton Book Company, New York, 1922).

<sup>10</sup>For an important discussion of the various details (the group-idea, the all-important state marriage, matrilineal descent, etc.) involved in this law in particular and of the other marriage laws referred to by Plato in general see G. M. A. Grube in *The Classical Quarterly* 21 (1927), 95-96. <While I was working over this paper to get it ready for printing, I chanced to read a review of a book which, if I understood the review, vigorously challenged some of the ideas to which Professor Lease refers in this note. The book, entitled *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*, by Bronislaw Malinowski [Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1927] is reviewed by Bernhard J. Stern, in *The Historical Outlook* 19 (1928), 402-404. C. K.>

<sup>11</sup>I.e. in early times "children of the same father by different mothers are not reckoned as brothers and sisters" (Heitland, *Primitive Paternity*, 1.265). So Themistocles's son by his first wife married one of Themistocles's daughters by a second wife (Plutarch, *Themistocles* 32). Compare also Demosthenes, *Eubulus* 20. Note *Nepos*, *Cimon* 1.2: *Atheniensibus licet eodem patre natas uxores ducere*. See further Becker, *Charicles*, 478 (translated by F. Metcalfe; London, Longmans, Green and Company, 1889), and Morgan, *Ancient Society*, 352 (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1872).

<sup>12</sup>Accordingly the repugnance of the daughters of Danaos to marrying the sons of his brother Aegyptus is the main motif of Aeschylus's *Suppliants*; compare also Aeschylus, *Prometheus* 853. For similar feelings of repugnance among the daughters of another people compare the story of the Hebrew sister, Tamar, in II Samuel 13.

<sup>13</sup>On the broader aspects of the problem see *Encyclopaedia Britannica*<sup>13</sup>, the article *Family*, 10.161-162, noting the query: "Was the first step in advance the prohibition of marriages between brothers and sisters?" For an excellent digest of the important laws of the Romans regarding marriage see James J. Robinson, *Selections from Roman Law*, 110-111 (American Book Company, 1905).



several times, of the Mantuan poet. It has been a delightful task to bring his remarks together.

If we were to sum up Shenstone's opinion of Virgil, we should say that he placed Vergil higher than Pope, the idol of his day, and that he had a keener interest in Vergil than he had in Pope. Our contemporaries are not of necessity the writers that are really closest to us, as Shenstone's vivacious comparison of Vergil to Homer would emphasize<sup>1</sup>:

The preference which some give to Virgil before Homer is often owing to complexion; some are more formed to enjoy the grand; the others, the beautiful. But as for invention and sublimity, the most shining qualities of imagination, there is surely no room for comparison. Yet I enjoy Virgil more.

As Professor William Lyon Phelps has pointed out<sup>2</sup>, there is a clear river of romanticism flowing through the eighteenth century plains of neo-classicism; the remark just quoted from Shenstone indicates that a writer of that age might jump quite out of the bounds of formalism. But Shenstone knew when he was violating clearly defined principles of good taste and did not hesitate to condemn himself for it<sup>3</sup>:

Some reserve is due to prudence; as freedom and simplicity of conversation is a debt to good nature. . . . It is on this depends one of the excellencies of the judicious Virgil. He leaves you something ever to imagine: And such is the constitution of the human mind, we think so highly of nothing, as of that whereof we do not see the bounds.

Thus Shenstone goes over to the school of criticism which has a rational basis, probably realizing that the personal and purely emotional sort of criticism was not likely to be successful. He realized that definite merits must be pointed out in a creative writer by a critic, merits which may be demonstrated with almost mathematical exactness.

His note on Vergil, Eclogue 1, also indicates this<sup>4</sup>:

The first line of Vergil seems to patter like an hail-storm—

*Tityre tu patulae, etc.*

We may guess that Shenstone intended to edit the complete works of Vergil some day, but, since, according to the record, he spent ten years at an English University without being graduated, it is likely that it would have taken longer than one lifetime for him to prepare such an edition. Besides, it was only the salient feature or detail in any writer that interested him. Note the following<sup>5</sup>:

Dido, as well as Desdemona, seems to have been a mighty admirer of strange achievements.

Virgil never mentions Horace, though indebted to him for two well-natured compliments.

Pope seems to me the most correct writer since Virgil.

Shenstone's comments on the largest excellencies of Vergil are likewise few in number, but are slightly more

extended. On two occasions he points out the exquisite technique of Vergil<sup>6</sup>:

It has ever a good effect when the stress of the thought is laid upon that word which the voice most naturally pronounces with an emphasis.

*O fortunati quorum jam moenia (Virgil)*

*At regina gravi jamdudum (Virgil)*

... Virgil, whose very metre appears to affect one's passions, was a master of this secret.

I have sometimes thought Virgil so remarkably musical, that were his lines read to a musician, wholly ignorant of the language, by a person of capacity to give each word its proper accent, he could not fail to distinguish in it, all the graces of harmony.

Has any tribute to Vergil expressed so fully the musical greatness of the foremost epic poet of Rome, except possibly that of Tennyson, "Wielder of the stateliest measure ever moulded by the lips of man"?

With the matter of taste Shenstone deals in a general way before he makes a note of Vergil's perfect taste<sup>7</sup>:

The difference betwixt a witty writer and a writer of taste is chiefly this. The former is negligent what ideas he introduces, so he joins them surprisingly—the latter is principally careful what images he introduces, and studies simplicity rather than surprise in his manner of introduction.

Virgil discovers less wit and has more taste than any writer in the world.

"—longumque bibebat amorem."

Virgil gives one such excessive pleasure in his writings beyond any writer by uniting the most perfect harmony of metre with the most pleasing ideas or images.

Shenstone's last comment on Vergil runs as follows<sup>8</sup>:

An editor, or a translator, collects the merits of different writers; and, forming all into a wreath, bestows it on his author's tomb. The thunder of Demosthenes, the weight of Tully, the judgment of Tacitus, the elegance of Livy, the sublimity of Homer, the majesty of Virgil, the wit of Ovid, the propriety of Horace, the accuracy of Terence, the brevity of Phaedrus, the poignancy of Juvenal (with every name of note he can possibly call to mind) are given to some antient scribbler, in whom affectation and love of novelty disposes him to find out beauties.

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### SPENSER AND OVID

Did Spenser, in *The Faerie Queene*, borrow the suggestion of his description of the Wood of Error from Ovid's mysterious forest, described in the story of Cyparissus, *Metamorphoses* 10.86-105? At any rate, the two passages are enough alike to afford an interesting parallel.

Ovid's verses run as follows:

*Collis erat, collemque super planissima campi  
area quam viridem faciebant graminis herbae.  
Umbra loco deerat. Qua postquam parte resedit  
dis genitus vates et fila sonantia movit,  
umbra loco venit. Non Chaonis afuit arbor,  
non nemus Heliadum, non frondibus aesculus altis,  
nec tiliae molles nec fagus et innuba laurus,  
nec coryli fragiles et fraxinus utilis hastis,*

<sup>1</sup>2.266.—This, and like references below are to *The Complete Works of William Shenstone* (two volumes, London, R. Dodsley, 1764).

<sup>2</sup>In his work, *The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement: A Study in Eighteenth Century Literature* (Boston, Ginn and Company, 1893. Pp. viii + 192).

<sup>3</sup>2.51. <sup>4</sup>2.177. <sup>5</sup>2.174; 2.177; 2.178.

<sup>6</sup>2.181; 2.20. <sup>7</sup>2.203; 2.202; 2.200. <sup>8</sup>2.267.

enodisque abies curvataque glandibus ilex,  
et platanus genialis acerque coloribus impar,  
amnicolaeque simul salices et aquatica lotos,  
perpetuoque virens buxum tenuesque myricae,  
et bicolor myrtus et baxis caerulea tinus.  
Vos quoque, flexipedes hederæ, venistis et una  
pampineæ vites et amictæ vitibus ulmi,  
ornique et piceæ pomoque onerata rubenti  
arbutus et lentæ, victoris præmia, palmarum,  
et succincta comas hirsutaque vertice pinus,  
grata deum matri, siquidem Cybeleius Attis  
exiit hac hominem truncoque induruit illo.

Professor Frank Justus Miller translates this passage as follows (Loeb Classical Library, 1916):

A hill there was, and on the hill a wide-extending plain, green with luxuriant grass; but the place was devoid of shade. When here the heaven-descended bard sat down and smote his sounding lyre, shade came to the place. There came the Chaonian oak, the grove of the Heliades, the oak with its deep foliage, the soft linden, the beech, the virgin laurel-tree, the brittle hazel, the ash, suitable for spear-shafts, the smooth silver-fir, the ilex-tree bending with acorns, the pleasant plane, the many-coloured maple, river-haunting willows, the lotus, lover of the pools, the evergreen boxwood, the slender tamarisk, the double-hued myrtle, the viburnum with its dark-blue berries. You also, pliant-footed ivy, came, and along with you tendrilled grapes, and the elm-trees, draped with vines; the mountain-ash, the forest-pines, the arbutetree, loaded with ruddy fruit, the pliant palm, the prize of victory, the bare-trunked pine with broad, leafy top, pleasing to the mother of the gods, since Attis, dear to Cybele, exchanged for this his human form and stiffened in its trunk.

Spenser's description of The Wood of Error is to be found in *Faerie Queene*, Book I, Canto I, Stanzas 8-9 (I give the text as it appears in Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, Book I, Edited by G. W. Kitchin [Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1897]):

And forth they passe, with pleasure forward led,  
Joying to heare the birdes sweete harmony  
Which therein shrouded from the tempest dreed,  
Seemed in their song to scorne the cruell sky.  
Much can they praise the trees so straight and hy,  
The sayling pine, the cedar proud and tall,  
The vine-prop elme, the poplar never dry,  
The builder oake, sole king of forrests all,  
The aspine good for staves, the cypresse funerall,

The laurell, meed of mightie conquerours  
And poets sage, the firre that weepeth still,  
The willow worne of forlorne paramours,  
The cugh obedient to the benders will,  
The birch for shaftes, the sawlow for the mill,  
The mirrhe sweete bleeding in the bitter wound,  
The warlike beech, the ash for nothing ill,  
The fruitful olive, and the platane round,  
The carver holme, the maple seeldom inward sound.

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### REVIEWS

Greek Papyri in the Library of Cornell University.  
Edited with Translations and Notes by William Linn  
Westermann and Casper J. Kraemer, Jr. Pp.  
xx + 287. 19 plates. New York: Columbia  
University Press (1926). \$10.00.

Scholars in the United States have been rather slower than those of other countries in collecting and editing the Greek and Latin papyri of the Hellenistic

and the Roman periods. The pioneer in this field was Professor E. J. Goodspeed, the well-known editor of the few papyri which were in this country in the closing years of the last century. Conditions have now changed. The interest in papyri, or the "belated development of papyrological research in the United States", as the editors of the volume under review put it (iv), is now advancing by leaps and bounds, and this progress is to a large extent due to the unbounded energy and enthusiasm of Professor Westermann. Few of the large and rich Universities in this country now lack fair collections of valuable papyri. The collection of the University of Michigan, as a result of extended purchases and systematic excavations by Professors Kelsey and Boak, is foremost. In every University which has been privileged to have Professor Westermann on its staff (Wisconsin, Cornell, Columbia) there is to-day a valuable collection of papyri. We expect soon the publication of the Princeton Papyri. Yale is just making a start.

After the publications of Professor Goodspeed, however, no volume dealing with Greek papyri made its appearance in the United States. From time to time one or another document was published in domestic or foreign periodicals: that was all. It was, therefore, with great joy that the few specialists in papyrology in this country learned of the first extended American publication of papyri, those of Cornell University. The volume under review is a handsome one, containing the texts of fifty-five Greek documents (of which nineteen are reproduced in the Plates), translations of these documents and comments upon them, excellent Indices, and a copious and up-to-date Bibliography. For reasons of economy the rather novel procedure of photographing the pages of the type-written manuscript was adopted in publishing the book. This new method does not appeal to me. It is a great strain on the eyes of the reader, and the general aspect is rather ugly.

More enjoyable are the contents of the volume. Some of the Cornell Papyri are of great historical value. The now famous account of lamp oil (No. 1) of the year 256 B. C., one of the most interesting pieces of the wonderful Zenon correspondence<sup>1</sup>, gives us a vivid picture of the life of Apollonius, the finance minister of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Between the lines of this account we can see Apollonius and his court slowly moving from place to place on a journey of inspection, using ships and horses for transportation. Squads of scribes and secretaries work day and night; hundreds of visitors and petitioners appear in the tents or in the house of the great minister. A banquet is arranged every evening with all the splendor of Alexandrian life, and with a profusion of food, wine, music, and dances. In the early morning, however, Apollonius is ready to go to the great festival of Osiris and Isis to pay his respects to the native gods of his adoptive country and to the powerful local priests. Another beautiful piece is No. 9, a contract with castanet

<sup>1</sup>For the Zenon correspondence, and the use made of it by Professor Rostovtzeff in an important monograph see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 16.110-112. C. K. >

dancers, dated in 206 A. D. Thirteen similar documents coming from about the same period were known previously; yet some interesting new details may be learned from this latest addition to the series. A group of dancers (a *symphonia*) is hired for a festival, by a lady named Artemisia. Is this a private party, or is Artemisia acting on behalf of a religious community? The entertainment is to last for six days. The dancers are to bring their own instruments and their gorgeous dresses, and transportation by donkeys is to be provided for them to and from the village of Philadelphia. Another excellent piece of great historical value is No. 20, a fragment of a long roll which contained declarations of land for the census of 302 A. D. We have known hitherto but little of the way in which the great reform of Diocletian affected Egypt. The Cornell papyrus (No. 20) and a similar fragment from the Library of The New York Historical Society (first published by Professor Goodspeed, now republished by Professors Westermann and Kraemer, No. 20 a) enable us to look more deeply into this question. In his zeal for reformation Diocletian, it appears, did not dare to attack the multisecular tradition of Egypt, but reserved his radical reforms for other parts of the Empire. No. 21, a long "register of tax payments", dated in 25 A. D. looks extremely dry and lifeless, and yet is full of interest. We learn that the village of Philadelphia had in 25 A. D. between 3,500 and 4,500 residents. How interesting it would be to get a list of the same character for the second and then for the third century!

There are many more well-preserved pieces which I might mention. The chief point to be noticed, however, is this. Even the smallest fragment (there are many of these in this volume) is full of interest. Moreover, the authors know how to pick from them the bits of new information which are worthy of presentation. It is not an easy task to publish papyri. One must try it in order to realize its difficulty. Hours and hours must be spent at deciphering, at guessing, at collecting parallels, at consulting dictionaries and indices. We must be grateful to the editors of these Cornell Papyri for what they have done. No doubt the reading of many a text may be improved, and wrong or inadequate interpretations may be corrected. However, in this new field pioneers must take the risk and must not be frightened by errors. Professors Westermann and Kraemer have done excellent work. They have set a fine example.

Let me end this review with some suggestions of minor importance. In No. 7 the name of the lady is doubtless Sambathion, not Sambathius. In line 9 of this document I am inclined to read not τῇ Σαμβάθ(ι)ῳ δὲ but rather τῇ Σαμβάθιον, and then οὗ ἔχει ἐν Ἀρσινόῃ Δαυίδος. I confess, however, that the photograph does not support this reading. I am inclined to think that the following readings also are preferable: in 8.4-5, ἀπὸ τῶν γενηματογραφουμένων ὑπαρχόντων πρότερον τοῦ δεῖνα, i. e. part of the confiscated property formerly belonging to so-and-so (there is no facsimile of [this

papyrus), in 12.15 ἀκαλούθωι ἡ ἔθετο διαθήκη, and in 14.2 ὥς οὐ δὲ ἔρει.

YALE UNIVERSITY

M. ROSTOVITZEFF

Altitalisches Wörterbuch. By Frederik Muller. Göttinger Sammlung Indogermanischer Grammatiken und Wörterbücher. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht (1926). Pp. vii + 583.

Professor Frederick Muller, of the University of Leyden, originally planned to contribute the Italic volume to the proposed continuation of August Fick's Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen, the fourth edition of which (Göttingen, 1890-1909) has never been completed. The World War interfered with this project, and it was later arranged to publish Muller's work separately. It required courage to write or to publish a book so closely paralleling Alois Walde's Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch<sup>2</sup> (Heidelberg, Winter, 1910), which is one of the best etymological dictionaries ever written.

Yet Walde's book has never been altogether satisfactory. In the first place, it is not so strong on the philological as it is on the linguistic side, and in the second place it is written in a crabbed style, with innumerable parentheses and excessive abbreviation, so that it is difficult reading for anyone but a specialist in scientific grammar. A new book that should combine Walde's breadth and sanity with greater clarity and a fuller consideration of the facts of Latin would be very welcome.

On the whole, Professor Muller writes a clearer style than Walde. For instance Walde's explanation, in four lines, of the relationship between *deus* and *divus* cannot possibly be understood without either looking up his reference to Karl Brugmann's article in Indogermanische Forschungen 6.88 or turning to one of the scientific Grammars. In five lines (page 144) Muller makes the matter fairly plain.

This great advantage over Walde, however, is largely nullified by two unfortunate features of Professor Muller's book. No doubt the arrangement of the material under reconstructed Primitive Italic captions is a remnant of the original plan of the book; but it ought not to have been retained. Although *fero* appears where any classical scholar would expect to find it, *facio* is entered under *pak-io*. To be sure, there is an index to help one find such misplaced words, but there is no good reason for causing the inconvenience. Professor Muller himself records his doubt (V) whether there ever was a 'Primitive Italic Period', and tells us that for this reason he has called his book Altitalisches <not Uritalisches> Wörterbuch. Surely it would have been better to make the arrangement of the book fit the title!

Furthermore, the abbreviation is even more excessive than in Walde. Muller uses "la." to = 'Lateinisch', and "ig." to = 'Indogermanisch'. He writes "ON" for 'Ortsname', "vl." for 'vielleicht', "rom." for 'romanisch'. Such things are confusing at best, but it is inexcusable to confront the reader with a series of riddles and to omit the key: there is no table of



abbreviations! One who is familiar with German works on grammar can in time find his way through Muller's pages; but I have to confess that several cryptograms still have me guessing.

One other weakness of the book doubtless comes from its original plan as a dictionary of Primitive Italic. Words borrowed subsequently by Latin, Oscan, or Umbrian are omitted. Thus there is no mention of such important words as *calx*, 'chalk', *crāpula*, *gāneum*, *gubernāre*, *hilarus*, *lanterna*, *oleum*, *pellex*, *persōna*, *rosa*, *tumba*, *turris*, *tūs*.

Professor Muller's chief contributions come from his familiarity with the Latin material itself; he is careful to disclaim anything like completeness, but at any rate his work rests upon a broader and sounder philological basis than Walde's. Even where no new etymology results, the old etymology frequently becomes more convincing.

As an illustration of Professor Muller's method at its best I will translate a part of the article *kōnsēlō* (102-103), filling in the abbreviations and altering the phraseology enough to make the passage clear:

'...Latin *cōnsilium*, "request for advice, consultation", hence "resolution, plan"; from Ennius and Plautus to the Romance languages ("advice"). *Cōsul*, earlier *co(n)sol*, "consul"; from Scipio inscriptions and Naevius to the Romance languages. *Cōsulo*, -*uī*, -*ultum*, -*ere*, "consult"; from Plautus; not Romance. ... Only one Latin word is exactly comparable: *auxilium*: *augeo*, Greek *αἰέω*... = *cōnsilium*: *cēseo*; i.e. *cōns*-, "I cause to vote", is causative to *cēseo*, as *moneo* is to the root *men*- (the relationship between *cēseo* and *cōnsilium* *dabo* is still clear in Plautus, *Stichus* 70-73). Note the procedure of the Senate: the *consul* ("consultor") "consults" (*consulit*) the senator: *quid censes*? He replies: *censeo*.... The result is called *senatusconsultum*. Compare *quom ea res cosoleretur*, *Senatus Consultum De Bacchanalibus* 9'.

The treatment of *pessum* (in *pessum do*, 'I ruin') on page 334 is far superior to Walde's article, first because it cites the gloss *persum*, *deorsum praecipilatum* (*Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* 4. 271. 32), and, secondly, because it omits the formerly accepted but impossible etymology from \**ped-* or \**pet-*, 'fall'. The word is clearly a supine from *perdo*; the loss of *r* before *ss* is paralleled by *rūsus*, *prōsa*, etc., from the participle of *uerto* (*verto*).

Professor Muller occasionally misses the significance of his philological material. Walde observed that the *r* of *caterva* must be original on account of Old Irish *celthern*, 'troop', since Irish does not exhibit rhotacism. Professor Muller adds to our material what he calls a 'remarkable Gloss' (*Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* 5. 214. 27), *caterva Gallorum lingua dicitur quod apud nos legio vocatur*, yet he combines the word *caterva* with *catena* (from \**katezna*) on the basis of Primitive Italic \**katezowā*. He might better have suggested that the Latin word may have been borrowed from the Gauls.

Some of Professor Muller's suggestions are, of course, unconvincing. Much as I should like to agree with him, I fear that *calvus*, 'bald', has no connection with Greek *καλός*, 'beautiful', although there are no

phonetic difficulties in the way of the etymology (Ionic *καλός* proves that the Greek word was once \**καλφοι*).

Professor Muller's dictionary will not supplant Walde's work, either as a handbook for specialists or as an occasional reference book for classical scholars. It must, however, be frequently consulted both for its original contributions and for its references to the literature which has appeared since the publication of Walde's second edition.

YALE UNIVERSITY

E. H. STURTEVANT

*Geschichte der Mathematik und Naturwissenschaften in Altertum*. By J. L. Heiberg. Munich: C. H. Beck (1925). Pp. viii + 121. 10 Marks.

Professor Heiberg's monograph on Ancient Mathematics, etc., may be described with German accuracy of style as the second half of the first part of the fifth volume of the *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, now edited by Professor Walter Otto, of the University of Munich. The late Professor Sigmund Günther was to have prepared the manuscript, but his untimely death required the selection of another to fill his place. With due respect to the memory of one who was for many years a good friend of this reviewer, the man selected was the more capable scholar in this field, being much better versed in the sources of classical mathematics and science. Günther wrote with great ease; Heiberg with equal ease has gathered the material that makes such histories possible. There are few who have done more to make the ancient mathematical texts so generally accessible in editions that may be called definitive than the author of the work under review. His critical study of the manuscripts of Euclid, Archimedes, Apollonius, Serenus, and others places him in the position of one who "speaks with authority, and not as the scribes".

In his earlier work on the same general subject, *Naturwissenschaften und Mathematik im Klassischen Altertum* (Leipzig, 1912; there is an Italian translation, by Castelnovo, Rome, 1925), Professor Heiberg treated his subject by chronological periods, with the emphasis upon mathematics. In the present work he arranges his material rather more by subjects; he still puts the emphasis upon the basic science, but he treats somewhat more generously the other branches. A fair idea of the ground covered may be had from the list of chapters, as follows: I. Mathematics (49 pages); II. Astronomy (14 pages), Astrology (3 pages), Meteorology (1 page), Alchemy (1 page); III. Mechanics (7 pages); IV. Optics (7 pages); V. Music (4 pages); VI. Geography (7 pages), Zoology, etc. (3 pages); VII. Medicine (28 pages), including veterinary practice (1 page).

The feature that characterizes the work most strongly is the evidence of familiarity with source material and with the works of those who themselves have made such material available. To the contributions of the historical stylists or philosophers the references are comparatively few. This failure to depend upon what are rather inaccurately called secondary sources will be criticized by those who hold such sources in high es-



teem, but even they will feel the stimulus in interest that comes from Professor Heiberg's method. If what he offers seems rather limited to the student of any special science, it must be considered that handbooks such as these are not intended to be exhaustive treatises. They are designed to act as scholarly summaries for the general reader, and few of its class fulfill its mission as successfully as this.

DAVID EUGENE SMITH

Greek Pottery. By Charles Dugas. Translated, by W. A. Thorpe, from the French. A. and C. Black London, Ltd.; New York, The Macmillan Company (1926). Pp. viii + 148. \$1.40.

The story of Greek pottery has often been told, but rarely in so fresh and unpedantic a fashion as in the booklet by M. Charles Dugas. Only real scholars can write good popular books—no one else has the requisite knowledge—and yet they seldom write such books. Here we have the right combination of exact information, given from a fund of fuller knowledge, and of the human touch which comes from detachment, that is from the ability to see the subject as a whole as well as its fascinating details. In Part I (1-38), M. Dugas gives a brief survey of the vases themselves, in their various aspects—their form and decoration, their manufacture, and the rôle they played in the life of the Greeks. In Part II (40-135), he presents a brief sketch of the different classes of vases and their development. There are a Bibliography (136-141) and an Index (143-148). The whole book can be read at a sitting and yet we derive from it an excellent picture of the subject. Anyone who has tried to do the same thing can appreciate the grace and the ability with which M. Dugas has accomplished his task.

Two things, however, call for some comment. To hold (28) that the signature *ἐποίησεν*, that is, 'so and so made it', refers to the owner of the workshop and that *ἐγράφειν*, 'so and so painted it', refers to the painter is to ignore the important contribution of the potter. In Greek vases, where form plays so conspicuous a part, the credit due to the maker of the pot must have been at least equal to that of the decorator. Athenian shapes, with their fine proportions, their exquisite curves and beautifully planned handles, are the products of real artists. What modern artist potter would not be proud of producing a large kylix and would not want to mark with his signature an exceptionally fine achievement? The potter may or may not have been the owner of the shop, but his pride, as that of any real craftsman, was in the quality of his work; this he proclaims in the straightforward Greek fashion by the formula 'so and so made it'. His fellow-artist, the sculptor, signed with the same words.

Something should have been said about the researches of Professor J. D. Beazley, which have revolutionized the study of Greek vase-painting by recreating for us so many artistic personalities. M. Dugas still keeps exclusively to the few vase-painters whose names happen to be known—Euphronios, Douris, Brygos, Hieron, etc., and ignores the great nameless

artists whom we now know no less intimately. In the Bibliography at least a reference should have been made to Professor Beazley's studies in this field.

The English translation is exceptionally good. The type and illustrations are better than those in the French edition.

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM  
OF ART GISELA M. A. RICHTER

Latin Prose Composition. By J. Arbuthnot Nairn. Cambridge: at the University Press (1925). Pp. ix + 168.

Dr. Nairn's Latin Prose Composition is a most valuable book for any one interested in Latin writing, or indeed writing in any language, including English. Dr. Nairn says in his Preface (viii) that his book "is intended as a contribution to the study of English as well as that of Latin..." In the chapter on Language and Rhythm (40-47), after some illustrations from Cicero, Dr. Nairn says (43):

Latin prose rhythms will be better appreciated by us if we have accustomed ourselves to listen to the sound of the fine rhythms in the best English prose, especially in the authorized version of the Bible, or the Book of Common Prayer... The Collect for the First Sunday in Advent, to take only one example from the Prayer Book, is full of noble melody, which is not unworthy of being compared with the rhythms of Cicero. The Book of Common Prayer... was intended to be read aloud in Church, and is therefore a safe indication of the rhythms which our forefathers thought best for public recitation...

...We should train the ear to appreciate good rhythm in English and in Latin by constant practice in reading aloud.

There is an admirable chapter on the Chief Divisions of Latin Prose Style (11-39), where the principal subjects, e. g. oratory, are discussed as handled by the chief Latin authors. Under this head numerous examples are given from Cicero, but there are others from Caesar, Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus, with excellent notes on each, following out Dr. Nairn's dictum in the Preface (vii), "...The teacher of composition is merely a guide, who points out the characteristics of the best models, and enables the student to imitate them more intelligently, and therefore more skilfully..."

Many helpful suggestions for translation are made, including the practice of re-translation. Dr. Nairn has some wise words on original composition in Latin, of which the last paragraph may be quoted (67):

The practice of original Latin prose will not of itself enable us to write good Latin. If only one method is employed, it should be composition, which brings out by patient analysis the full meaning of an English passage and then turns it into Latin. But one or two original compositions in the course of a term add variety to the process of learning, and give greater ease to our style, and greater command of vocabulary.

Part II, Passages for Translation (103-166), give 73 pieces of a wider range than usual. The authors from whom passages are given include Ramsay MacDonald, Bernard Shaw, and Lytton Strachey, besides older favorites. The book is one that should be owned

by every teacher of Latin, and will be of constant use both to inform and to inspire.

BARNARD COLLEGE

GERTRUDE HIRST

*The Gateway. A Book of Latin Composition for Middle Forms.* By E. A. Sonnenschein, C. S. Wilkinson, and W. A. Odell. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch (1924). Pp. 244. \$1.20.

The Gateway seems an interesting book. In the Preface we read,

Each rule or set of rules is followed by one or more exercises consisting of isolated sentences; these are reduced to small dimensions—to the minimum that is necessary for drill in the rule. But they are immediately followed by continuous passages in which the rule in question is further exemplified, together with other rules previously learned. . . . The interest of the pupil is further enlisted by the linking up of these continuous passages into a consecutive whole. They are based, where possible, on Livy, and follow one another in chronological order, so that a pupil who has translated them all into Latin will himself have written a sketch of Roman history from the foundation of the city to the end of the Punic Wars.

This seems an admirable example of the advantage of killing two birds with one stone. The rules of syntax are very full and complete, and are given in a very clear and interesting way. A good pupil, who was fortunate enough to have a good teacher, could undoubtedly learn the essentials of Latin prose composition from this book. There is a vocabulary of 35 pages, and a brief Appendix on the Calendar and Numerals. The usefulness of the latter any one who has taught Latin will appreciate. The book is remarkably well printed.

BARNARD COLLEGE

GERTRUDE HIRST

*Stories and Legends. A First Greek Reader, with Notes, Vocabulary and Exercises.* By F. H. Colson. London: Macmillan and Co. (1924). Pp. xvii + 219.

Mr. F. H. Colson's Greek Reader was first published in 1888, and has been reprinted fourteen times since then; so it obviously meets a want. There are a few introductory remarks on Greek accidence and syntax, designed to help the beginner, and then come the stories, at first very easy, then gradually becoming more difficult, until finally there are five pages from Plato's Phaedo, ending with the account of the death of Socrates. There are about 40 pages of notes, 10 pages of English exercises to be translated into Greek, and vocabularies (including a vocabulary of proper names). The selections are all in prose, which the present reviewer regards as a defect in a beginner's Greek book, but of course prose furnishes more useful material for the writing of sentences. Almost all

the stories are from Greek mythology, history, or literature; they seem interesting and well chosen.

BARNARD COLLEGE

GERTRUDE M. HIRST

### AN IMPORTANT WORK ON SPAIN

*Numantia: Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen. Band III: Die Lager des Scipio.* By Adolf Schulten. Pp. 288; 54 Plates; Atlas; Map; 46 Plans. Munich: F. Bruckmann A. G. 90 Marks.

A recent archaeological work of the greatest interest to teachers of Latin has passed almost unnoticed in America. Dr. Adolf Schulten, Professor of Ancient History at the University of Erlangen, in Bavaria, has devoted the better part of a scholar's lifetime to Spain and has had the reward of general recognition as the leading authority on Hispania Antiqua. Between 1905 and 1912 he conducted campaigns on the site of Numantia, and from 1912 till the present year he has been busy with a voluminous and magnificent publication of the results. The work is discouragingly expensive; but fortunately the volumes are sold separately. It is only of Volume III that I am writing a brief notice. The volume is devoted to Scipio's famous siege of Numantia, of which it gives a most detailed and accurate archaeological exposition.

Appian's narrative of this campaign is only too seldom read. As it seems based on Polybius, and as that great historian was himself present at the siege, in 133 B. C., Appian's version is practically that of an eye-witness.

Scipio had destroyed Carthage a dozen years earlier. In comparison with that achievement, his present task of reducing an Iberian stronghold of some 4000 desperate warriors in the waste places of the high Castilian tableland may have seemed a very minor undertaking. Yet Numantia had broken the Roman arms three times already; Fulvius Nobilior, Pompey the Great, and Popilius had all turned home, futilely or disgracefully, from this untameable hilltop town. Scipio would not risk his reputation on a fourth disaster to the Roman legions. He made no attempt to storm Numantia, but settled down methodically and elaborately to a siege. He knew better than to stake everything on a hand-to-hand decision with a band of hungry and desperate defenders. By digging and building himself in, he risked nothing, he broke Numantia, and he left a great girdle of fortifications for Professor Schulten to uncover.

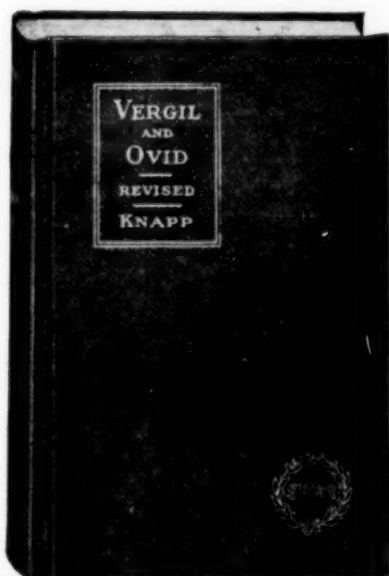
The plans in the volume here noticed are magnificently accurate and detailed. They show five miles of walls running from tower to tower, four times crossing streams with palisades, and connecting seven fortresses on seven hills in a great girdle around the doomed town. Two of these seven forts were true *castra*; both were permanent enough in their construction to have left full traces of their arrangement. Forum, praetorium, quaestorium, the quarters of the equites, triarii, principes, hastati, the tribuni, and the praefecti are all determinable and all entered on large-scale folio plans.

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